

592 if they must live together. So you see, if they *all* lived together in one house, it would be a terrible thing." Later, it appeared that the two technically extended families in the village were looked upon as temporary arrangements. As a residence unit, then, the extended family is absent from Munqif in the theory of the villagers themselves, and it is very exceptional in practice.

• 596 This does not mean, however, that we can dismiss the possibility of the power of extended families as social units regardless of residence. In fact, considering the violent stresses and strains which the common residence of in-laws is believed to cause, it is reasonable to suppose that an extended family living in separate conjugal groups might be a *stronger* social unit than an extended family living under one roof. As a matter of fact, by way of comparison, among the sedentary Bedawin living around Aleppo, several generations of one family never live together under one roof (Daghestani, 1932, p. 188), yet it is safe to assume that among these people strong extended families as social units are the rule.

BROTHERS

593 There are, indeed, some indications in Munqif of in-group mechanisms extending beyond the conjugal family, but not, in this particular context, inclusive of the minimal lineage. These are all cases of the close relationship between adult brothers, most of whose fathers are dead or so old that they have made over their property to their sons. Note has already been made of the two pairs of brothers who live together as pairs in the summer, but live separately in the winter. In addition, there are three pairs of brothers each of which lives under one roof. These are listed as six independent households in Table 1 because they are so regarded by the villagers. In all cases the shared houses have been partitioned down the middle inside, and thus the families live independently of each other. We thus have five pairs of a total of ten conjugal families, each pair of which shares, in one way or another, a single house. In every case, these situations have arisen because the brothers have not yet "divided their inheritance," as the villagers say. Inheritance patterns will be discussed later; here it is enough to point out that inheritance is equal among brothers. Ideally, one brother—often the youngest—gets the family house, with consequent adjustments in the settlement of the rest of the property. The final settlement is often delayed several years—but never permanently—with results that have just been discussed (see Tannous, 1942, pp. 232-34 for a discussion of the solidarity of close kin).

693 There are several more cases of brothers who own and occupy adjoining
613 houses, or houses very close to each other. This is considered a "nice" arrangement,
621 but it is often impossible, and there are many exceptions. Projected over many generations, however, this ideal has resulted in the tendency for the houses of maximal lineage mates to have remained clustered together (see map, Fig. 6) after the original division of the village territory among the three sons of the founder.

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613 The exceptions, which are relatively recent, are sufficient to have obliterated most
621 minimal lineage clusterrings.

It is quite evident that brothers are expected and honor-bound to help each other throughout life, and very frequently they cooperate in business or other enterprises. Many of the remittances from emigrants appear to be based on the brother-brother relationship. The situation may be in part similar to that reported from India by Mandelbaum (1948, p. 137), in which it is now rare for extended families to remain unified after the death of the parents.

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If this material can be interpreted as sufficient evidence of the "presence of the extended family" in Munqif, this writer has no objection, but he himself is not entirely convinced. In part, to be sure, the problem is a terminological one, for the common usage is to equate "extended family" with "patriarchal family." The latter can only be rare or, in individual cases, of fairly short duration in a culture like that of Munqif in which, owing to the general lateness of marriage, a man is not likely to become a patriarch over sons and grandchildren until he is rather near death's door. The family organization in Munqif is possibly similar to that of the Chinese *chia* (Fei, 1939, p. 29).

NAMING PATTERNS

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Related to the matter of lineages and families is that of personal names. Something has already been said about naming patterns, but more should be mentioned about the names themselves. Particular names do not seem to run in certain patrilineal despite the reported ideal of naming the eldest son after his paternal grandfather (cf. Granqvist, 1950, p. 15). The names of the men are more conservative and less variable than the names of the women. There were one hundred and eighteen different male names recorded as against one hundred and forty-six different female names. Only eight of the male names (involving nine persons from five different conjugal families) are of recent foreign origin, whereas there are twenty-three female names of this type (involving thirty-one persons from twenty-seven conjugal families). The remainder of the female names are Arabic nouns and adjectives which generally have no religious significance. The most popular are Layla (Night), twelve examples; Manah, seven; Nabila, Fariidi, Badr, and Sa'ada, five each. Most of male names are also Arabic nouns or adjectives, but thirteen of them (involving sixty-five persons) are specifically Christian and/or of Greek origin. Nearly ten per cent of all the males in the village are named Jarjis (George). The other most popular male names are Na'im, ten examples; Dyaas (Elijah), Mukhail or Michel, and Fu'ad, nine each; Hanna (John), eight; Iliia (also Elijah), seven; Wadii, six; and Nakhli, five.

In eleven conjugal families the names of the children form some sort of rhyming or alliterative pattern. For example:

2 [See preceding 3 pages -- Analyst]

794 by the people, and ordained by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified donations, members of the community meet his needs. In some cases, he does not even cease to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

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602 • Another pillar of life among the rural people of Lebanon is the family organization, which is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first of these is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is a more comprehensive unit, known as the joint family, which consists of the grandparents at the head, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, this joint family breaks up into new units, resulting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the kinship group. Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor and normally carry his name.

Evidences of the importance of the family organization are numerous and convincing. A village consists actually of a community of people held together to a large extent by blood ties, either through descent within the kinship group or through intermarriage between these units. Practically everybody is related directly or indirectly to everybody else. A strong sense of belonging and of solidarity develops as a result. Marriage, to (582) a large extent, is a family affair, with emphasis upon the interests and welfare of the two family groups concerned. Children are (591) usually named after ancestors or other relatives, thus emphasizing (423) the blood tie. Land is normally held and operated jointly by various members of the unit. Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

539 In their use of proverbs, expressing fundamental attitudes, the 593 village folk frequently refer to this family relationship. "Blood can never turn into water." "A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." "Marry the daughter of a good family, though she be an old maid." "He who has no family backing has no backbone." These are but a few examples. Further evidence of the 551 identification of the individual with the family group is supplied 598 by the manner in which people are addressed or introduced.